

1920

October

# THE CANADIAN RAILROADER

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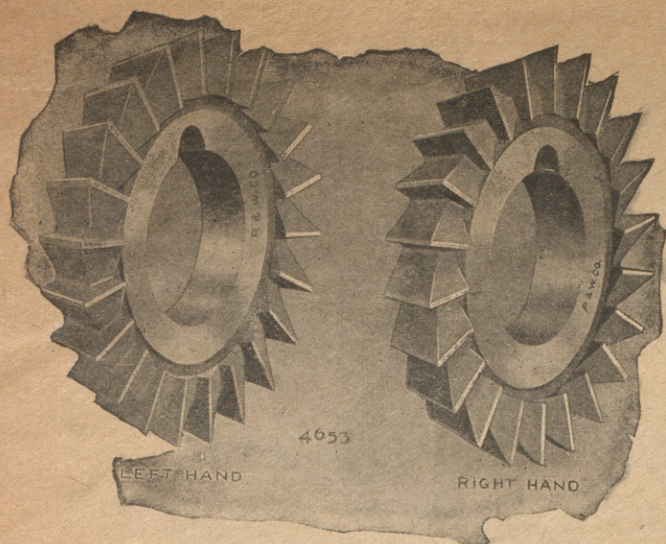
The Railroader has always been a poor blower of its own trumpet, and, contrary to the canons of modern newspaper making, it has not even attempted to make the most of the trumpeting that others have done for it.

There have been so many complimentary messages during the past week, however, following on the announcement of the purchase of buildings and printing plant, and the presentation of the Railroader in its new, home-made dress, that some acknowledgement in print seems appropriate. An added charm of these messages is that they have come from the highest to the lowliest in the land, and from all sorts in between.

Herewith the thanks of everyone concerned to all who have written, 'phoned or called to say the kindly, encouraging things that are great reward indeed.



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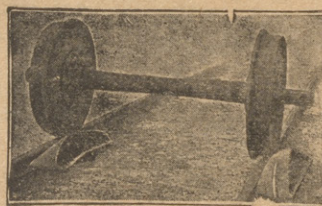
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## Mr. J. A. Woodward Gave Address On Problems of To-day

**M**R. J. A. WOODWARD, President of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association, of which the Railroader is the official organ, was the guest of the members of the Montreal Reform Club at luncheon last Saturday. Mr. L. P. Cordeau, K. C., presided, and Mr. A. R. McMaster, K. C., M. P., for Brome, made an address of thanks at the close of Mr. Woodward's speech.

Following are points taken from Mr. Woodward's talk, which dealt with "Problems of To-day":—

I remember when a man who became a member of a trade union was looked on as a radical, and was in peril of losing his job. The first lodge meeting of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen was held secretly behind the lumber piles belonging to J. R. Booth, alongside the Ottawa River.

Nowadays we have the Railway Board of Adjustment No. 1, made up of representatives of the railway companies and the workers. It is a sort of Whitley Council, but was in operation before Whitley Councils were invented, and has had much to do with preserving peace and justice on the railroads.

The miners' strike should be decided by right and justice, not by something which defiles them—force. National destinies will be shaped according to whether reason or force triumphs.

Our greatest troubles come from lack of contact, co-operation and confidence. I know an employer who was not aware that for twenty years he had had in his employ the cleverest employee in the trade. He found it out only when the men threatened to strike.

There are no real victors in war. One side merely loses more than the other.

The best brains are working towards a reign of reason. They have not been wholly successful, of course, but neither have they had downright failure.

We hope that the coming fateful day will show that men, realizing the futility of force, will yet bow to reason's rule.

General Currie said the other day: "The most expensive thing in the world is ignorance, and when its cost is compared with that of education, the latter appears almost a ridiculously cheap investment."

—said he believed the power, success and security of a nation depended on, was in almost direct proportion to, the standards of its educational system. I believe he is right. We must strive towards a higher plane in our educational system, based upon equality. We must remove economic privilege from our schools and univer-

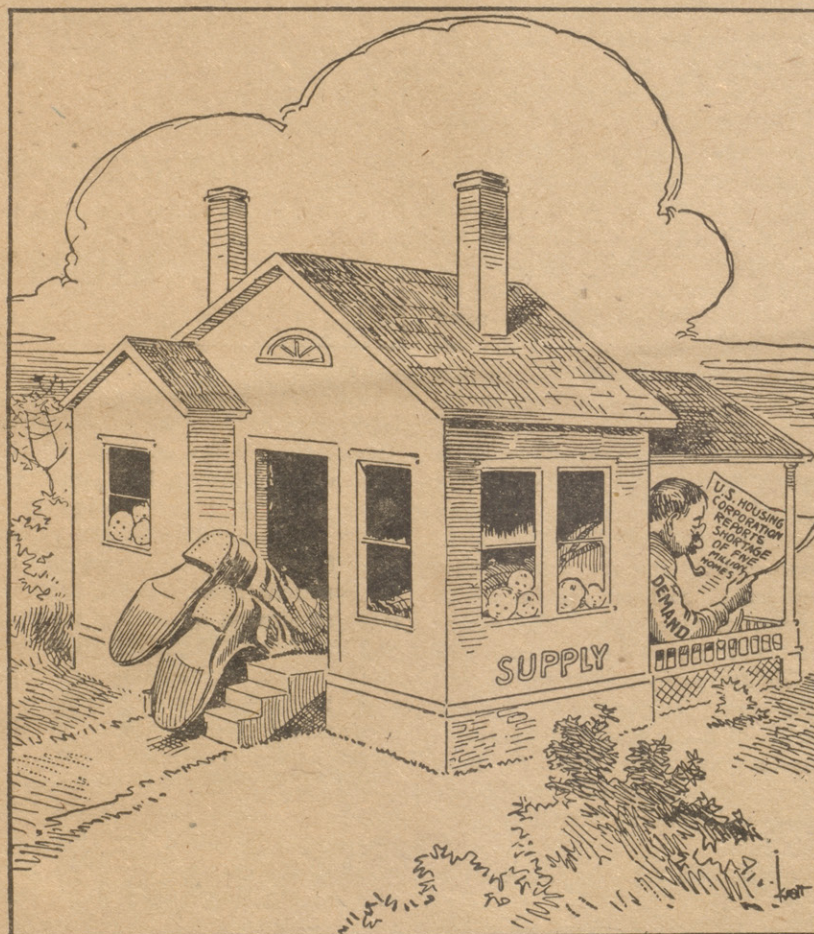
sities. A democracy is dangerous only when it is ignorant. I am not afraid of discontent. Only from discontent does real progress spring. I am afraid of ignorant discontent.

The fool son of a millionaire has no business to be at a university to the exclusion of the son of a poor man with ten times the ability. The main reason why so much power is in the hands of the privileged classes is that these classes have the entry to higher education. Money rather than brains is the key to this higher education. I stand for free and compulsory education from the very bottom to the very top.

We are just beginning to realize that the wealth of a nation does

beauties and advantages to be disfigured by the terrible housing conditions of its people that we know to exist. When we consider what this country accomplished during the war, it is not too much to expect that the problem of proper housing for the people should be properly dealt with, big though it is.

It is said that the home is the foundation of the nation, that the virtuous home is the basis of all national prosperity. If this be true, consider what our present rotten social system is doing with the home. It is an outrage against God and man, the most glaring example of selfishness and greed I can think of. We have homes that are nothing more than pestholes of disease and crime. In other parts of the city we have mansions that glitter with extreme luxury, that are too frequently the abodes of extreme selfishness.



THE HOUSING SITUATION —Dallas News

not consist of bank balances, but in the brain and brawn of its people. I suggest that we should conserve the human capital of our country, our most precious possession, which we have long suffered to run to in the past thirty years was in waste.

Nearly every educational reform inspired by the workers and fought for by the workers.

The workers can no longer be tied to the apron-strings of custom and privilege. Neither can they be rocked to sleep by fine phrases that are not accompanied by fine deeds.

As I looked out on the city from Mount Royal recently, I wondered why our legislators should allow a place with such magnificent natural

All that is needed in our maze of political problems is a little of the common sense and honesty that our mothers used in housekeeping. Most of our legislators seem to be sitting up nights trying to mix things so much that the ordinary worker cannot understand them.

The workers of this country are objecting to the potluck tariff policy. They are objecting to tariffs being made the football of partisan politicians. They want a fiscal policy based upon the recommendations of a scientific, advisory board representing the different elements of the community and wholly free from political bias. They want the facts, and changes made upon the facts, not upon theories or opinions of this party

or theories or opinions of that party. The organized labor movement of Canada has declared for a tariff board, and it looks as if the manufacturers were also agreed that something of the kind would be better to them than the old system of the political football. A tariff board is the only thing the workers and manufacturers have ever been able to agree upon, which is worth thinking about.

We do not want to take the tariff out of politics. We do want to take the politics out of the tariff.

Since the politicians do not appear to be acting for Labor, for the manufacturers, for the farmers, or for any other big group of the people, the logical inference is that they are acting for themselves.

Whenever an election loomed on the political horizon, and there was need of lots of money, the Moses of our public life simply smote upon the tariff rock. Bankers, merchants and manufacturers immediately rushed to their cheque books and the workers rushed to the polls, while the ship of state on the crest of popular excitement and universal dismay rode grandly into her anchorage. When the storm was over the bankers, merchants and manufacturers sat up late studying ways and means to recover the money spent in the election so as to be ready for the next one, while the worker got up early in the morning to sweat out the money the big show had cost. The politicians merely bowed to the multitude in grateful acknowledgment, while they blessed the rock and carefully deposited the magic staff for future use.

We must not be charged with working for class legislation, because the establishment of a tariff board would be a benefit to all classes of Canadian society.

Our parliament is made up almost 86 per cent of lawyers. There are far too many lawyers making our laws and administering our country. The 86 per cent would be better made up of labor men, farmers, business men, with the remaining 14 per cent lawyers.

Cape Breton mine operators have refused to meet the representatives of the United Mine Workers at the Truro conference, declaring they are willing to accept the report of the Royal Commission without amendment.

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## IN THE YEAR 1930

(By CHARLES W. STOKES)

"One Sunday edition of the Chicago Tribune used more paper than all the papers in Canada used in two days."—Jason Rogers, Publisher of the New York Globe.

"American newspapers will be without print paper in ten years—unless there is conservation."—The Same.

And here we are in 1930. The world is without paper (the convention being established that there is enough to print this). The paper companies of the United States, having stripped bare the forests of their own country without replanting a single tree, succeeded after all in making their raid on Canada, and the latter country is also entirely denuded of wood suitable for paper. There is not a single spruce tree in the world over six years old—and spruce trees require nearly 150 years to reach maturity.

Nor is there any balsam, hemlock, tamarack, poplar or basswood, the second best bets. Other woods that have been tried were found unsuitable—besides, the lumber of North America is rapidly nearing exhaustion, as predicted by lumbermen in 1920. Straw has been tried, but the agricultural production of the United States and Canada has declined so rapidly during the past ten years that an entire year's supply of straw would not last five days. All the grass of the world is needed for the under-nourished cattle. For a time there was a rival in paper made from old rags, but clothes have become so expensive that nobody discards anything. Again, as the newsprint stocks got lower and lower, there was quite a vogue in the more expensive papers, such as ordinarily are used only in high-class magazines, and for a while those of the newspapers which could stand the strain appeared daily looking like the Studio or the London Sphere. But that, too, passed. The shortage became universal; other countries came to this and took their fill, no new forests were discovered, and the world is entirely without paper.

Reviewing the subject historically, a reference must be made to the notable experiments of Professor William Magnolia, Ph.D., in 1926-7. He began from the basis that although old paper can be converted into new by pulping, the chemical properties of the inks then used were so destructive that only 15 per cent. of the bulk could be saved, which percentage was, of course, gradually reduced to infinity as the hashed paper came again to be re-hashed. He therefore compounded a printing ink free from any corroding or caustic element, but although the new ink looked black it had no permanence. In other words, after so many days it faded.

But Magnolia argued like this. "All those things which are worth preserving are already printed in the kind of ink. The modern news-

paper has only a few minutes of life—why, therefore, preserve it? The modern novel, produced in such enormous numbers, is exceedingly ephemeral—why not use the paper over again? We already have the Bible, Shakespeare, Dickens, Homer, my 'Cosmic Subliminality', and the rest of the Hundred Best Books printed in imperishable ink in every library and in countless homes, and these, carefully used, will suffice the reading requirements of all future generations."

It was good reasoning. Professor Magnolia became at once the richest man in the world, for everybody had to buy his ink. For several weeks all went well; the ink duly faded and the paper was duly pulped, there being such careful conservation that the housewife would as lief line her pantry shelves with old newspapers as she would with gold leaf. But . . .

Ink that faded had its disadvantages. For instance, a certain politician called another politician a liar, and the latter brought a libel action; but by the time the action reached the courts all the evidence had faded out. In the courts themselves it was impossible to turn up a precedent and see what Supreme Court Judge Smith said in the analogous case of Jones vs. Bones. Judges therefore had to render decisions on the merits of each particular case, which in many cases worked hardships—on the judge's intellect. There was the amusing case of where Miss Jiggs, the well-known elderly spinster, sued a poor unfortunate bachelor for breach of promise of marriage. The sensation was to have been the reading of his highly mushy letters to her, but Miss Jiggs' lawyer found himself staring at blank pieces of paper. It was very awkward, too, to have paper money, stock certificates, leases, and such like printed in Magnolia Ink.

So Magnolia Ink went into the discard. . . .

Now, in 1930, we have no paper. We have practically no books, for the contents of all the libraries were stolen and pulped. The remainder are chained to their shelves something like the Chained Bibles in old monasteries. Every year since 1924 seventy-five million spruce trees have been planted, but the earliest is not expected by actuaries to be ready for cutting until 2052. The reserves where they are growing are protected by large standing armies and patrolled hourly by thousands of firemen.

The world, however, is not entirely without news, for once a month a "newspaper" is published in every country simultaneously, printed on animal parchment. The edition is limited to one copy per thousand of the population, except in the cities, where the closeness and congestion of population had made it possible to obtain wide circulation for every

GEORGE PIERCE, President.

J. A. WOODWARD, General Manager.

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**MONTREAL**

individual copy. One copy to ten thousand is the quota for cities. Each copy costs \$175, cash in advance. The method is for one man to obtain a copy, hire a hall, read his sheet aloud to a crowd, and then sell it. Speculation in the privilege of first possession was rife at the commencement, but has been almost eliminated by taking the voters' list (which is graven in stone) and working alphabetically. The rush to get on the voters' list is consequently unprecedented in the annals of democracy.

The occupation of "newspaper man" has disappeared, because the small staff required for this production are obtained by Civil Service examination. The fact that rural communities get one copy per thousand population instead of one per ten thousand has created a rush back-to-the-land that is positively astounding. Suburbs that once were euphemistically called "within easy commuting distance" are rapidly converting real estate back to acreage. Foremost in the Landward Rush have been the reporters, editors, printers, advertising managers, authors, artists and paper-makers who have lost employment. The "newspaper" is a remarkable one. It contains no advertisements, no editorials, no verse, no cartoons, no society page, no "columns", and no letters to the editor. At first advertising was accepted at \$5,000 per inch, but because of the rush to pay \$50,000 per inch it was eliminated in the public interest.

The tremendous volume of news available once a month has led to the strict censoring of news and the

conservation of space by the omission of punctuation and words like "the", "a" and "to". Every word is abbreviated. Legislation is reported thus: "J. Smth sd hs opn ws tht Bll Jnes ws fker", or "Afttr lng dscsn nwhch 83 mbrs fr 272 hrs rslnn ws dftd". Naturally such a style of reporting has changed the attitude of the public towards legislation entirely. Theatrical shows are reported merely "Up in Mbels Rm at Garck rskier in nme thn plt", all other advertising of Up in Mbels Rm being left to word of mouth. Incidentally the lack of paper to print programmes has led theatrical producers to run lantern slides before the performance indicating the names of performers, locate, and who furnished the leading lady's lingerie. Theatrical scenery is painted on tin. The stereopticon lecture has, in fact, had a sudden revival of popularity.

Thousands of celebrities who kept themselves in the newspapers in the old days have ceased to be. The various methods of getting into the newspapers, such as starting a war, inventing a new dance, getting a divorce, or living in Hobohemia, have therefore slumped. International friction has practically disappeared, because by the time the next issue comes round you have forgotten what the darned thing's all about. The Stock Market closed when paper for the ticker tape was exhausted, and the present newspaper has no room for any quotations except government bonds, so that speculation has been reduced almost to nothing and all sales are

(Continued on next page)



conducted by barter. Aluminum discs representing so many shares or bonds pass from hand to hand.

There are practically only two forms of advertising—by motion picture and by public crier, both of which are extensively used. It being impossible to open a charge account, because there is no paper on which to record it and no paper to make out the monthly bills, all business is practically on a cash basis—in fact, a cash and carry basis, for there is no paper on which to write addresses for delivery. Telephones have therefore been greatly decreased. Visiting cards are made of metal, and are returned to the caller after having been inspected by the callee. Wedding invitations and such like are all verbal.

Twice a year an author is selected by world-wide symposium to write one book not exceeding 300 pages in 6-point type, which is printed on parchment and distributed in the same way and in the same ratio to population as the newspaper. Two artists are each allowed to paint one picture each year not exceeding in size six square feet; but on the other hand there is a tremendous vogue in sculpture and miniatures on ivory. All the shoes that one buys are of sound leather and do not have soles made of paper. No letters are written, and the manufacture of ink, pencils, rulers, erasers and rubber stamps is unnecessary. Book-keepers and accountants have disappeared. When you travel on a train you get a little steel tag showing how far you travel—a tag that is used over and over again. No substitute for cigarette paper having been discovered, cigarettes have disappeared.

But perhaps the most striking result of the lack of paper is the economic situation. Gold, silver, copper, nickel and other metals still circulate, but there is no paper money. There are no bills of lading, no bills of exchange, nor instruments of credit whatsoever. There is consequently no way to incur credit except by memorising. Bank balances are indicated by notched "tally" sticks. The National Debt has been wiped out, because no country has any means of remembering to whom it owes money; the Government bonds already mentioned, represented by tags, are for current expenditure only and are self-extinguishing because in time the metal wears out. The problem of foreign exchange has righted itself, because every foreign purchase is paid for in gold.

If space permitted, I would tell of the ingenious methods adopted for paying rent and paying taxes, of the standardization of incomes in ten grades that has followed the inability through want of paper, and particularly of shareholders' lists, to check up how much taxes the individual should pay. Suffice it to say that the world's wealth has shrunk to the total of its liquid assets, millionaires have become an anachronism because it is next to impossible to possess more wealth than you can carry round, store, or in-

vest in property that one must necessarily work oneself, the whole science of economics has been shot to pieces, the professors and the economists have gone farming, and the world is safe for democracy—until the next spruce tree is old enough to cut.

#### THE HANGMAN AT HOME.

(By Carl Sandburg)

What does the hangman think about  
When he goes home at night from  
work?

When he sits down with his wife and  
Children for a cup of coffee and a  
Plate of ham and eggs, do they ask  
Him if it was a good day's work  
And everything went well or do they  
Stay off some topics and talk about  
The weather, baseball, politics,  
And the comic strips in the papers  
And the movies? Do they look at  
his

Hands when he reaches for the coffee  
Or the ham and eggs? If the little  
Ones say, Daddy, play horse, here's  
A rope—does he answer like a joke:  
I seen enough rope for today?  
Or does his face light up like a  
Bonfire of joy and does he say:  
It's a good and dandy world we live  
In. And if a white face moon looks  
In through a window where a baby  
girl

Sleeps and the moon gleams mix  
with

Baby ears and baby hair—the hang-  
man—

How does he act then? It must be  
easy

For him. Anything is easy for a  
hangman,  
I guess.



OLD GROUCH says: "A dealer  
says he thinks butter is going  
down nine cents a pound.  
Thinks are no good on a slice  
of bread".

LOCOMOTIVE SIDE FRAMES, WHEEL CENTRES,  
—ETC. CAR COUPLERS—DRAFT ARMS—BOLST-  
ERS—SWITCH STANDS—RAILWAY TRACKWORK  
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FBIR CONDITION AND  
SOLD AT A FAIR PRICE.

—Always, Everywhere, in Canada,  
Ask for EDDY'S Matches



## Labor and Co-operation

(By WILLIAM L. CHENERY, in The Survey, New York)

COOPERATION is the living ghost in America. It has been buried many times. Its funeral sermon has been preached and more than once its estate has been probated. Just now, however, it is going through a renaissance. Trade unionists and farmers are starting cooperative ventures with glad and valiant enthusiasm. They seem not to know that the economic history of this land is strewn with the wrecks of past hopes. Or perhaps on the other hand they do remember the aspirations and the brave struggles and the tragic losses which gave character to the labor movement of other generations. It may be because they know so well the disappointments of the eighteen forties, of the sixties, the seventies and the eighties that something more enduring is being built now. However that may be, certain is it that the re-birth of cooperation during the last few years and most of all during the last few months is one of the most interesting manifestations in American history.

There are said to be between 3,000 and 4,000 cooperative consumers' stores in the United States at the present time. These are almost exclusively owned by trade unionists and by farmers. Consumers' cooperation has probably never reached so high a level at any previous time in this country. Cooperative banking has advanced by bounds. Large numbers of small credit unions seem to be firmly entrenched while ambitious plans for state and national banks have been carefully laid.

Producers' cooperation has been advanced. Among trade unionists a number of interesting experiments are being made, while among farmers large and wealthy associations seem to be thoroughly established. In numbers of organizations, in volume of business and most of all in centralized and critically self-conscious effort cooperation is on a higher plane than it has ever before reached in the United States. The successful stores are more-over chiefly those which are the property of trade unionists. Dr. J. P. Warbasse, president of the Cooperative League of America, states that a recent examination of most of the consumers' undertakings listed by the league showed them to be overwhelmingly laborite in their membership.

Members of the American Federation of Labor are backing the present revival of cooperation. One of the dominant A. F. of L. unions, the United Mine Workers of America, is responsible for some of the largest groups of stores in the United States. Outside organizations such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the railroad brotherhoods have

shown as much zeal as the mine workers. Radical and conservative alike are giving impetus to the development. Cooperation furthermore has for the first time brought organized labor and associated farmers together in an undertaking which rests on something more solid than emotion or opinion. Often enough in this country farmers and artisans have deemed their interests to be clashing and have acted in that belief. Now both groups have discovered a practical interest which may bind them as firmly as the desire for protection bound the manufacturers of the first half of the nineteenth century. That, too, distinguishes the present movement.

Nothing less than the national machinery of a federal census would suffice to enumerate all the cooperative organizations which are now operating. It is not even safe to list all the national trade unions whose memberships have plunged into the movement. It is sufficient, however, to indicate the broad lines along which activity is proceeding. These serve to put the present situation in perspective. Cooperation, it is fair to say, is now as ever, both an economic creed and a general reaction to high prices. The enormous growth of the movement during the recent past is in a way the response of long suffering consumers to the high cost of living. Cooperation seems to offer an immediate way out. Consequently tens of thousands of people adopt it. Some of these are merely bargain hunters. Strict cooperators look with disdain upon such grovelers. They, however, also have their place. Private commercial ventures as sound financially as some famous mail-order houses got their real start in catering to the universal desire for bargains. Cooperation may do as well.

The mark which differentiates the present cooperative development from earlier movements is to be found in national organization and in the federation of groups of societies into wholesale organizations. Some of these listed by the Monthly Labor Review are: Cooperative Wholesale Company, 236 Commercial Street, San Francisco; Cooperative Central Exchange, Superior, Wisconsin; Central States Cooperative Society, 203 Converse Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois; New England Cooperative Wholesale Association, 86 Leverett St., Boston.

The Pacific Cooperative League, which acts through the Cooperative Wholesale Company of San Francisco, was organized in 1913. It, however, took over the work of a previous association which had had eighteen years' experience. Many of the Pacific Coast stores

are members of the district wholesale company. Most of its affiliated stores were organized as branches. The Cooperative Central Exchange of Superior, Wis., comprises a series of cooperative societies in Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan, with a combined membership of about 5,000, and owning the Superior Wholesale. Eighty additional organizations purchase through it.

The Central States Wholesale Cooperative Society has sixty stores in Illinois. This wholesale is the result of the cooperative movement among the Illinois miners, although its present membership is by no means limited to that group of workers. For a number of years, in fact, the Illinois State Federation of Labor has been energetically preaching cooperation.

Besides these wholesalers there are groups of societies in nearly every state. In eastern Ohio, northern West Virginia and western Pennsylvania is a strong expression of the cooperative movement among the locals of the United Mine Workers of America. Scattered societies are found in every state. Pennsylvania has two hundred societies, Wisconsin and Minnesota each have two hundred societies, while Kansas has five hundred.

In places, individual cooperative stores are discriminated against by manufacturers and jobbers. Some authorities regard this discrimination as an asset rather than a liability, since it stimulates interest in the store. However, it is certainly true that few retail cooperatives experience difficulty in obtaining their stocks. Boards of trade and independent retailers attempt to persuade private wholesale concerns to discriminate against consumers' cooperative stores; but thus far the stores continue to get goods.

While the most common expression of distributive cooperation in the United States is the store selling groceries, still there are hundreds of dry goods, shoe, hardware, clothing and drug stores. There are also many cooperative bakeries, laundries, restaurants, boarding houses, coal yards, printing plants, and recreational centres. Cooperative house building associations have been particularly successful.

The most serious cause of failures among cooperative ventures has been attributed to the use of methods which under any system would result in bankruptcy. Poor bookkeeping and a worse application of cooperative principles, according to the Cooperative League of America, have explained numerous failures. The league and wholesale societies have educational and organization departments. Some of the wholesales install systems of bookkeeping, audit the books of their members, and some insist on a strict enforcement of Rochdale principles as essential to cooperative success. Because of this national organization, with education and

with inspection, the present move appears to be on a sounder basis than its predecessors. Previously cooperative undertakings have often been started without any reference to the experience of other groups. Failures have in consequence been numerous. Successes have been attained chiefly when some one of the members had knowledge of the methods of well managed cooperative stores. Thus in times past an English or a Scotch immigrant who was familiar with cooperation in Britain would be the nucleus around which a sound organization was reared. But there were not enough such immigrants to guide the isolated experiments. The Cooperative League happily now renders this service.

Cooperative stores, although furthered by various trade unions, do not follow strictly labor lines. Still some of the unions have gone further. The United Mine Workers of America have in certain districts been pioneers. Their stores have been the centres around which the movement grew. The most conspicuous of the present developments are, however, those of the railroad unions. Among the railroad workers the activity of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is outstanding. In 1915 the engineers began to consider cooperation. At the present time they are engaged in organizing a cooperative national bank in Cleveland. A building has been bought and a charter obtained. The capital of the bank is fixed at \$1,000,000, with an additional \$100,000 paid in a surplus. This bank will maintain commercial, savings and trust departments. The ownership of the bank stock will be limited to members of the brotherhood, but, like other cooperative undertakings, it will also open its facilities to the public. The dividends paid to stockholders will accordingly be limited and the earnings in excess of these limited dividends will be distributed along cooperative lines. This bank is more a trade union enterprise than a cooperative institution.

In addition to the national bank the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is attempting to organize credit unions. These are analogous to local cooperative consumers' stores. Members buy shares, usually \$10 par value, and deposit their savings with the society. Loans are made to members on personal credit and dividends are paid upon deposits. In 1910, it is stated, approximately 65,000 of these credit unions had been organized in Europe. Their annual turnover was said to be seven billion dollars.

In 1919 Massachusetts enacted a statute making possible the establishment of these "people's banks." Subsequently Texas, North Carolina, New York and Rhode Island have passed such laws. The development of these banks in Boston was contemporaneous with a marked decline in the loan shark

(Continued on next page)



business, according to W. F. McCaleb, of the National Committee on People's Banks. This shows how real a service they may render.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, like the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, are supporting the development of credit unions as well as other forms of cooperation. The clothing makers also have plans for a large central bank, for stores, and already have quietly established a cooperative clothing factory in New York. This is now limited to a "made-to-measure" trade. The clothing makers, the railroad unions, the mine workers and other trade unionists joined with certain farmers' societies last February in holding the All-American Farmer-Labor Cooperative Congress at Chicago. Out of this meeting grew the Committee on Banking and Credit, of which Frederic C. Howe is executive secretary.

Mr. Howe has been especially engaged since the holding of the congress in developing the national bank of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

The important result of the farmer-labor meeting is, however, to be seen in the focussing of the energies of these two great groups. Farmers have in many parts of the country established powerful cooperative societies. Mr. Howe says:

"The farmers of Wisconsin own and operate 2,000 cooperative producers' societies. They own 718 cheese factories, 380 creameries, 437 telephone companies, 214 insurance societies, 150 live stock shipping societies, 4 packing plants, 2 laundries and 7 fruit exchanges. The farmers of Minnesota own and operate 2,950 cooperative societies including 643 creameries, 360 elevators, 400 live stock shipping societies, 52 cheese factories, 102 stores, 950 telephone companies, 59 fire insurance and 290 other societies. They did a business in 1917 of \$118,710,000. The farmers of North Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, California, Washington and other states have organized thousands of other cooperative societies and do a business running into the hundreds of millions annually."

Like the labor cooperative consumers' societies, these forces are now being unified. At the present time, taking the country as a whole, they carry on only a small fraction of the total volume of business. Yet they mark a growth which may in time have tremendous significance in the economic character of this country. They are assuredly among the most potent of the democratic influences at work in our industrial and agricultural development. What they will ultimately signify it is not possible to say. A hundred years ago cooperation of a sort was an important feature in the manufacturing industry of the country. At various times since then cooperation on the the Rochdale plan and on other lines, has seemed to obtain a powerful footing. Once the

dominant labor federation of the country definitely gave up trade union methods in favor of cooperation. But the season was not ripe. One by one the plans lost importance. But never before has the interest in cooperation been so widespread nor the development apparently so sound.

Nevertheless, Dr. Warbasse is of the opinion that some of the present ventures are built on sand. Some, he states, call themselves cooperative when actually they are merely oldline private business or individual philanthropy. Success, in his reckoning, is possible only when the strict methods tested by cooperators in many countries are efficiently put into practice. Moreover, he urges that a mere desire to effect an immediate and a large reduction in the cost of living is not a sufficient basis for successful cooperation. A consumers' store alone can save only the small retailer's profits, and these are not always large. A wholesale society can effect further savings, it is true, and cooperative manufacturing can do more, but the road to such economies is toilsome. Often it is not traversed unless there is present a democratic interest in building a human society whose motive is service and not profit-taking. Among some of the trade unions that generous motive is at work. It is the most important safeguard for the future.

C. P. R. gross earnings for the second week of October show an increase of \$1,660,000, compared with the same week a year ago. For the first week of October there was an increase of \$1,391,000.

The Commissioner of Customs has ruled that the duty on goods from Great Britain and other countries in Europe where exchange rates are favorable to Canada are in future to be estimated at the gold and not the par value of the currency in the country in which the goods are shipped. Goods bought in the United States will be valued in terms of Canadian funds, thus making the import duties vary in accordance with the premium on New York funds. On the other hand, goods from the United Kingdom and European countries will be valued upon the basis of the current depreciated rate of exchange. The effect of this new ruling will be an additional duty on United States goods, and a very substantial reduction in the duty on those from Europe.

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The Official Organ of

The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada

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GEORGE PIERCE, Editor

KENNEDY CRONE, Managing Editor.

## Mr. D. B. Ajax

MR. D. B. HANNA, President of the Canadian National Railways, has just laid down a law which will be blown to bits on the first attempt to apply it—if such attempt is ever made. In a statement given out at Winnipeg on October 25, he said that Canadian National Railway employees must not accept nomination for any political office, and if any should do so they would automatically cease to be employees of the road.

In the statement Mr. Hanna outlined the reasons for this decision, which has aroused a storm of protest on the part of employees of the railway, who claim that such an order deprives them of their political rights.

"Considerable discussion seems to have arisen among certain classes of employees of the Canadian National Railways regarding the attitude of the company towards employees seeking provincial or federal parliamentary honors," stated Mr. Hanna. "One would imagine from what appears in the newspapers that something new had been promulgated in railway practice. The fact is, insofar as the old Canadian Northern lines are concerned, the management then in control had a clear understanding that any officer or employee identifying himself with any party and seeking parliamentary honors automatically severed his connection with the company. This rule was strictly observed and the same practice has been extended under the present board of directors."

Officials representing railway employees stated, in regard to Mr. Hanna's statement, that they would await definite action on the part of the company. The men intend to take no steps for the moment, but will do so immediately word is received that an employee has been dismissed as a result of the company's stand.

What the old Canadian Northern lines did has no relation to the story, because lots of things were done by controllers of men in 1914 and earlier that no sane controller would dare to do in 1920. If one goes back far enough in railway history, no doubt it will be found that there was a practice of firing men who sought the honors of membership in trade unions. No doubt the practice was strictly observed. Perhaps Mr. Hanna and the board of directors would like to have it revived, too.

This stand of Mr. Hanna and his board is one of the hardest licks from headquarters that has been given to the idea of nationalization of railways in this country. Nationalization of railways is fine in theory, but we are not yet at the stage

of efficiency, honesty and balance where it is fine in practice. Mr. Hanna helps to prove this. Just pass a little power into the hands of one of the common type of our present leaders, and he immediately sticks on a brass hat and adopts a Potsdam swagger. His idea of proper use of the franchise and liberty of political action generally is to take them away from those who come under his imperial sway.

Suppose that all the Canadian railways were nationalized. Under Mr. Hanna's little plan, the 147,000 railway employees in Canada, comprising quite a notable percentage of the alert, nationally-conscious citizens of the Dominion, would be mere pawns in a political game. Men like Senator Robertson, Minister of Labor, an old railroader, and Mr. Charles Harrison, the C. P. R. conductor-M. P. from North Bay, could not hope to get into the House of Commons. The whole organized labor movement would be sadly crippled in regard to its political representation.

President E. W. Beatty of the C. P. R. is not on President W. B. Hanna's side of the fence in the matter of political freedom of the employees. His consciousness of the rights and duties of citizenship is deeper, and his sagacity as the head of a great railway more pronounced. Speaking at a meeting of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association in the Windsor Hall, Montreal, on January 12, 1919, President Beatty said:—

"If the political result of your Association, which at present consists almost entirely of railway workers, is to bring into Parliament more railway men, I wish you all success in your efforts. Such an achievement would be of immense benefit to the people of Canada. You have a shining example in the case of my friend and fellow-speaker to-night, a railway man who by his ability has won a distinguished place in the Government of Canada, the Honorable Gideon Robertson. I wish we had more men like him in Parliament to-day."

"Senator Robertson is an example of the modern labor man, sane, safe, insistent in labor's cause, but not swept off his feet by every passing breeze. I trust that he will fill the position he holds with satisfaction to the labor men, as well as to the citizens of Canada as a whole."

"In view of the important part that the railway industry plays in the economics of Canada, there are far too few railway men at Ottawa, with the result that legislation affecting railway men is too often voted and decided upon by majorities which are not sufficiently acquainted with the facts."

"A few weeks ago, when I was on a trip West, I learned that the conductor on the train was a member of the House of Commons for Nipissing, Conductor Harrison. I had a long chat with him. He was not a politician, using that much-abused term in its popular sense, but a straightforward, clean representative of the people, whose record with the company was such as to warrant the conviction that he would be a credit to the House. He was a new member, but the sincerity and seriousness of his attitude toward public questions convinced me that the railway men were fortunate in having a man of his calibre chosen from among them to take part in the deliberations of Parliament."

"One has only to read the published platform of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association to realize that the entry of railway workers as a political force would be of immense value to Canadian political life."

Well, it's no use worrying. The railway workers of this country are not going to allow Mr. Hanna to carry his pretty little law into effect, and if Mr. Hanna insists on posing as another Ajax defying the lightning the most obvious thing for the rest of us to do is to get the flowers ready.

—Kennedy Crone

## Caring for the Weak

THE crying need which exists in the City of Montreal for providing more accommodation for the sick, the convalescent, the mentally deficient and the epileptic, was strikingly brought out in a report which was presented at a meeting of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies ten days ago. It appears that the general hospitals are often chary of discharging a patient because they know that he or she is not fit to resume work or even go home, whereas if there were a suitable convalescent hospital, the patient could be transferred to it and would be able to return to ordinary life by a gradual process. At the same time, the beds in the general hospitals would be more quickly vacated for patients who are waiting. The need of a hospital for tubercular patients in advanced stages of the disease, also for institutions for the mentally deficient and the epileptic, both adults and children, was also shown in this report.



It is a well-known fact that in the Old Country the hospitals have always been essentially the people's institutions; that they have carried more free than paying patients; but in Montreal the reverse is the case, and the city has rather sought to thrust aside its responsibilities in this respect. By a bill which was enacted in the legislature last session, the onus was placed on every municipality in the province of providing for its indigent sick to the extent of paying \$1.50 a bed for those who have no means. The point that the hospital authorities make—and rightly it would seem to most people—is that the sick poor shall be provided for by the State and not be dependent upon public charity. This view was supported by Dr. A. H. Desloges, superintendent of asylums and public charities, in addressing the Council of Social Agencies, who, realizing that if the hospitals are to be placed on a really satisfactory financial basis, proposed that the amusement tax principle should be very considerably extended. His idea was that all amusements, even baseball and hockey games, as well as the pari-mutuel, should be taxable, and that instead of paying a 10 cent tax on a \$5 ticket, a tax of 50 cents should be payable. In this way he believed it would be possible to raise a budget of between two and a half and three million dollars yearly for charitable institutions.

On point that Dr. Desloges brought out clearly in his talk was that it is no longer possible for the ecclesiastical charities to assume all responsibility for the sick and poor, even among the French-speaking and Catholic community. He practically admitted that what was wanted among that community was something analogous to the Montreal Council of Social Agencies, Protestant and non-sectarian, for the church institutions and charities do not prod the Government as does an organization such as the council. That council at the meeting in question, for instance, pressed for six institutions of various types for the sick in body and mind, and that was only one phase of its work.

—Caedmon

## An Editorial Mystery

**R**EALLY, the Montreal Standard should be a little less mysterious. Read this displayed editorial, headed "Propaganda," from a recent issue:—

"The Great War was responsible for many new things, Perhaps one of the most outstanding and remarkable features is the perfection of propaganda.

"Many people will tell you that propaganda won the war.

"The Germans allege that the propaganda of the Allies corrupted the morale of their troops, and was one of the chief sources of their failure to win the war.

"The Allies claim, on the other hand, that German propaganda poisoned the well-springs of truth through the entire universe.

"The propaganda organized and developed during the Great War is still with us, and it is more highly developed now than ever before.

"It is so subtle in many of its aspects that we encounter propaganda in our daily life without recognizing it.

"Correspondents allege a remarkable instance of propaganda in this city during the present week. It is claimed that one of the most meritorious organizations were 'had' in a most remarkable and subtle manner. It was not until after the whole thing was over that the situation really dawned on them. However, 'all's well that ends well.'

"The British Ambassador, however, did not make his appearance."

What does it mean? Never mind the English of it or the other little weaknesses of journalistic technique, but consider the mystery. What is the mystery and why is there a mystery? Why refer in double-column type to a mystery which is still a mystery so far as the readers are concerned? Is it subtle propaganda, or what? What's the good of sliding a finger knowingly up the side of the nose, so to speak, and saying, in effect: "Ssh! I could a tale of propaganda unfold, but I beg leave to proclaim from the housetops that I shall not breathe one word of it?"

—Kennedy Crone

You cannot rear an Imperial race in the slums.  
—Lord Rosebery.

## Presswomen and Unionism in Journalism

(By FRANCES FENWICK WILLIAMS)

**S**HOULD journalists — women journalists more especially—become members of trade unions? The Canadian Women's Press Club at its recent convention in Montreal debated this question warmly, Mrs. Bowker of London, Ontario, leading the discussion with a timely address.

Mrs. Bowker apparently had reached no decision herself, and most of the women who took part in the debate which followed her address were equally uncertain as to the direction in which their sympathies leaned. On the whole the feeling of the Press Club was favorable toward the union idea. One member cleared the air somewhat by reminding the women that there were pros and cons in every subject and that the simple and logical way of proceeding was to add up the advantages and the disadvantages of the trade union idea applied to journalism, and see whether the credit or the debit side predominated.

After this the discussion became less uncertain. The advantages of belonging to a union were apparently greater than the disadvantages—few attempted to deny this when reminded that linotype operators as a rule received about one-third more pay than editorial writers, and that higher salaries invariably followed "collective bargaining." A few felt that higher salaries or the mention of higher salaries, were things too mundane to intrude upon the reflections of of high-minded writers who regarded their work as a privilege rather than a task; but the majority agreed with the Bible in believing that the laborer was worthy of his hire, and stoutly maintained that even the most spiritual of society editors need not disdain a slightly increased wage.

Nor could the most spiritual of the critics affirm that she would spurn a little extra supply of filthy lucre, should the same fall to her portion. This important point being settled—the women generally agreeing that the trade union idea was a good one — the meeting then began to seriously discuss the disadvantages of belonging to a union.

In the first place it was pointed out by a member that the slogan "Equal pay for equal work" did not always apply to women by any means: and that when it did apply — when unions insisted on women receiving the same work—curious means of preventing women from doing the same work were occasionally employed. For example—one hates to mention the fact—but it is said that men belonging to the Typographical Union "lock their machines rather than let women learn the trade"! Of course when the persistent creatures by some occult process manage to learn the trade despite the locked machines, The Typographical Union

demands an equal wage for them. Typographical Unionists — linotype operators — if this be "a libel on your sect" rise up in your might and say so. If not, prepare to receive the wholesale condemnation and disapproval of the Canadian Women's Press Club which with one voice, denounced the ungallant typographers on hearing of their practices.

The slogan of these gentlemen, too—"Equal pay for equal work"—provoked some discussion, one member pointing out that "Equal pay for equal output" would be a more intelligent battle-cry, and one calculated to lead to better results. This suggestion was received with approval, the women as a whole declaring that they would not desire equal pay unless they produced an equal output, and stating also that the present union idea of paying the good and bad worker equally, simply put a premium on inefficiency. What promised to be a very interesting discussion arose here: but it was not allowed to go very far as the time for discussion was so short that the chairman felt that we should stick to practical issues. However, one woman pointed out that the condition of labor before trade union days was simply appalling, and that one must not chide the steed that had carried one from the battle. Undoubtedly the present plan did not make for efficiency; but, were she given time, she could probably prove that it eventually would. However she was not given time as other wished to contribute to the discussion.

One member strongly objected to journalists being classed as "labor." Our work was in the professional, not the labor class. Another replying, defined "labor" in the terms of the British Labor Party as "all who work whether with hand or brain." Most people were laborers in this sense, and was it not a pity that laborers whose work was perhaps less important and certainly less difficult should get better hours and higher pay simply because they had intelligence enough to stick together and demand these. A shocked and elderly member rose at this juncture to request agitatedly, that all mention of "labor" in connection with journalism be debarred from the discussion, but the chairman did not take her objections seriously and the battle continued to wage.

A strong objection made by Mrs. Bowker to trade unionism for journalists was that writers could not work by the clock. One could not be certain of having an idea by four o'clock precisely, working it out efficiently by five-thirty, and "downing tools" by six o'clock whether the article was finished or not, several women pointed out that this thing had to be done by most writers on papers as work must be finished

(Continued on page 13)



## MOVEMENT OF TRAINS

By G. E. DINWOODIE

In the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineer's Magazine

IT has been said that the art of reasoning is nothing more than a language well arranged. In short, reason in an engineman is an orderly way of expressing in action his knowledge of his many duties. It follows that to have a language well arranged in action he must be fully fitted to perform his duty safely and to the best advantage. He should be so thoroughly conversant with the rules under which his train is being operated that his actions will conform to and give a reasonable expression of them.

In the every-day work of a railroad man emergencies arise that make it necessary that he act instantly and with full knowledge of what others may do, under the rules, and it is in such cases that his knowledge of operation and a reasonable application of that knowledge may save not only himself but others that may be depending upon him. I have watched train rule development among different classes of employees, making full notes in certain cases, and have developed the interesting fact that there is a very small percentage of men who do not want to learn, or who are opposed to attending train-rule classes, and in every instance the man who shows the least interest or complains is the man most in need of train-rule instruction. I have found that about one man in fifty is afflicted with this lack of interest, and, in a few cases, hostility, and while this is a very small percentage, still it is too large for the safety of the other forty-nine men.

The boy who dislikes spelling is at the foot of the class and is the very boy that needs it—and plenty of it.

Those who take up engine or train service owe it to themselves, their families and their fellow workers to learn the rules of their business as completely as possible. I am aware that in the great majority of cases this cautioning is not necessary, because they are already awake to the dangers that follow their occupation; but for the few cautioning seems essential. A sailboat is easy to handle in fair weather, but fair weather does not last forever, and it is the storm that shows the proficiency of the sailor, and the degree of his proficiency spells safety or disaster no less to the railroad man than to the sailor; and because train movement is not always smooth and easy a man cannot be too well posted upon his particular line of occupation.

In all walks we find the failure—I do not mean the failure as measured by the dollar standard, for the world will only live up to its opportunities when the sign of human service takes the place of the dollar sign in spelling success.

Enginemen in performing their work efficiently are certainly performing a service to humanity; but those few who shirk their duty and evade and sidestep when opportunity arises for further knowledge of their work fall short in their duty to mankind as well as to themselves, and to such the word "failure" is rightly applied.

To better understand the dangers that enginemen and trainmen must face I quote from Accident Bulletin No. 69. I do not wish to be understood as stating that all of the accidents mentioned in the bulletin could have been avoided, but it is certain that some of them could have been avoided had every man involved been one of the forty-nine men.

Railroad men as a class stand high in knowledge of their duties and in proficiency in execution, and it is to stimulate a continued effort along the lines of self-improvement that this article is written.

Accident Bulletin No. 69, for three months, shows 273 rear-end collisions; 134 head-on collisions; 108 collisions between separate parts of parted trains; 436 cases of sideswipe and raking; 119 collisions with cars on sidings and other tracks. A grand total of 1,070 accidents, quite a number of which should have been prevented. These accidents killed 244 persons and injured about 2,000 persons, not taking into account the 3,432

derailments during the same period, which resulted from various causes, including negligence and misconduct; nor the 667 accidents to locomotive boilers and machinery, etc. After studying a detailed report of these accidents it seems to me that reasonable action must become a fixed habit, by keeping up a constant effort to master all train rules and train order subjects, for, as Professor Upham has said, "In a thousand emergencies men have been obliged to act with quickness, and at the same time with caution; in other words, to examine subjects, and to do it with expedition. The consequence of this is that the numerous minute circumstances involved more or less in all subjects of different inquiry are passed in review with such rapidity, and are made in so small a degree the objects of separate attention, that they vanish and are forgotten."

So I issue a solemn warning to the men of the 2 per cent. The man who is trying to do his duty will not complain about being asked to learn his part, to the end that he may prevent unnecessary loss of life and limb and better serve humanity and himself.

A prominent train-rule examiner told me recently that men can almost always be correctly graded by the rotation in which they attend a series of classes. As a rule the ones that come last are the ones that are most deficient in knowledge of train-rule subjects and are the ones that fail when put to the test. You can be pretty certain when you hear a man exclaim that he doesn't need to attend classes or study the rules, that such a man is a source of danger, for no man is perfect. Human beings are peculiar. They cannot grasp those things outside their range of understanding, and being limited, some of them are foolish enough to regard such knowledge as non-existing or worthless. It is a scientific fact that the human ear can only hear sounds produced within a limited range of vibration and that all sound vibrations below and above that small compass are inaudible to us. It is also known that the eye fails to see objects that are rapidly vibrated, thus we know that the human being is a limited animal both as to sight and hearing. From this we know that there are sights and sounds outside the range of our perception and that there is knowledge that our unaided senses cannot give us. At this point instructions, taking on different forms of expression, come to our aid to extend our knowledge of different subjects beyond the point where our unaided senses will take us, until becomes the known.

In railroad work a thorough mastery of the rules must be gained, and then it is that by doing we learn to do; by obeying reason that we learn to obey; and every right action which we cause to spring out of knowledge and reason, whether by precept or example, will have a greater weight in the formation of a uniform habit of right action than all the theory in the world.



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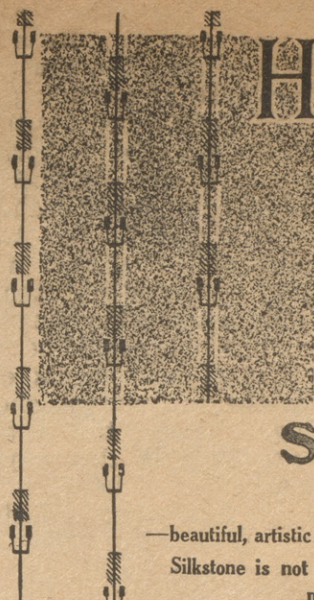
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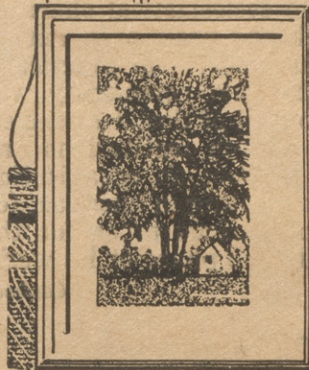
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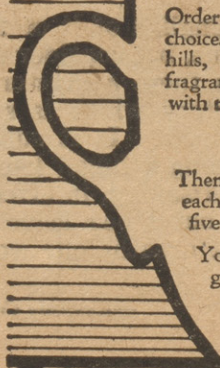
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# Our OTTAWA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

THE EPISODE of the sugar refiners is most curious and illuminating, and is worthy of close attention. There are many versions of the actual facts but certain things are apparent on the surface. The combination of sugar refiners which has controlled the trade in Canada so successfully and to its own great profit for many years had reached the conclusion that sugar prices were destined to remain at a very high level. Now it happened that their estimates were for once astray and this particular plan for adding to their fortunes went the road of many best-laid schemes of mice or men. There was a sudden and steep decline in sugar prices south of the line and it at once became profitable to the wholesalers, retailers and manufacturers using sugar to supply their needs from the United States. It was soon obvious that the Canadian refiners were faced with a serious situation and if the market was left open would either be left with their sugar on their hands or compelled to sell it at a heavy loss. The price of refined in the United States had rapidly reached the price which they had paid for their raw sugar. So strenuous steps had to be taken to avert this calamity and the chief potentates in the refinery business fared forth to Ottawa, the place from which all blessings flow to needy plutocrats. They made doleful lamentation over their plight to political friends in high places and were reminded of the existence of the Board of Commerce whereon the vacancies caused by the resignation of the original appointees had been filled by three very docile civil servants. Meanwhile other steps had been taken to prevent the public being surfeited with cheap sugar. The dumping clause in the Customs Act which was devised for quite different contingencies was interpreted as operating and its penalties were levied on several consignments. But it did not suffice to keep back the inflow of cheap sugar. So the semi-moribund Board of Commerce came into action and promulgated an amazing order which restricted the sugar trade in Canada within the narrowest of channels by practically compelling wholesalers and retailers to purchase from the refiners, forbidding importation from the U. S. and stabilising the retail price at 21 cents per lb. or 18½ cents refinery price. The order would have effectually saved the situation for the refiners and enabled them at the expense of the Canadian people to escape their speculative losses. But the people had already begun to wonder when they heard of sugar selling in Detroit at 9 lbs. for \$1 why there had been no parallel decline in Canada and

as soon as this most audacious order was published there swept across the country a storm of rage and protest such as has had no parallel for many years. Government papers and supporters joined with critics and opponents in denouncing the order and demanding its immediate repeal. The Government took fright bowed to the blast and suspended the order, appointing October 20th as the date for hearing an appeal from it. They also attempted to disown all knowledge of it and to cast total responsibility upon the hapless Board of Commerce. But this shameful subterfuge can hardly succeed. It is well known in Ottawa that at least one member of the Board of Commerce was in close conference with Cabinet Ministers a few hours before the order was issued and we need not be expected to believe that the conversation turned upon Mrs. Asquith's Memoirs of the Presidential contest in the United States. Also is it likely that a board composed of three tame civil servants would on their own authority issue such an order? It is moreover notorious that the sugar refiners were consulting freely with the Board of Commerce over the order and had with them in an advisory capacity Mr. W. F. O'Connor late member of the Board. There is every suspicion that the refiners were allowed to revise the final terms of the order for two of their leading champions emerged from the privy chamber of the Board just prior to the issuance of the order. Mr. Meighen had in the meantime fled to address the East Elgin electors at Strathroy and denounce what he is pleased to call the "foe." So callous have our politicians and the profiteering interests which work their will through them become to public opinion there was little expectation of any popular outcry. One refiner was warned that there would be a storm of popular fury but he scoffed at the idea. When the storm came there was genuine surprise and pain that the public could be so cruel and abandoned to the worst forms of radical ideas.

When the hearing took place the refiners appeared with an impressive staff of experts and counsel and Mr. Huntly Drummond read to the Cabinet a carefully prepared memorial stating their case. Mr. Meighen had explained that the onus of proving the invalidity of the suspensory order of the Cabinet lay upon those objecting to it and there was general surprise when at the end of his dolorous plea about the ruin that awaited himself and his friends Mr. Drummond declared that they withdraw all opposition to the legal warrant for the Government's action and threw them-

selves upon their mercy for charity in their hour of distress. Mr. Meighen then curtly announced that as the refiners had abandoned their opposition to the suspensory order it must continue in effect and be made permanent and the hearing would therefore come to an end. It was all over in less than an hour and this course of action had obviously been prearranged.

What probably happened is this. The sugar refiners have certainly a very thin case. They were restricted from exacting the very maximum of profits at certain periods for the benefit of the consumer on a rising market; and now they claim that they should receive some counter protection in a falling market. But Mr. Meighen knew well that if he was to admit that case he could not refuse a guaranteed price for the wheat of the western farmers and the restoration of control. No relief could be granted unless there was a thorough investigation of the profits of the refineries since 1914, and the Cabinet would have had to listen to a series of indignant protests from the representatives of various bodies. The summary ending of the hearing prevented any undue publicity being given to the popular side. The sugar refiners got their case before the public, Mr. Meighen was able to pose as the quickminded champion of the people's rights and the delegates of Consumers Leagues and other bodies were suppressed into silence. The business, however, will not end there. It seems probable that the refiners were induced to surrender for the moment by some semi-pledge that all that a friendly government could do for them would be done. But the problem is what can be done? If a governmental loan is made then the returned soldiers will ask why they could not be given loans to establish themselves in business. If the duties on raw sugar were remitted for a certain period, then the farmers would point out that they had lost by the decline in prices and must have remission of the duties on farm machinery. So the Government are left with a very thorny problem and whatever goodwill they may have the political consequences of helping the refiners will be serious. There need not be too much sympathy wasted on these gentlemen, though Mr. Huntly Drummond is generally acknowledged to be deserving of some commiseration. But the whole incident illustrates the length to which our financial and industrial interests think they can go in exacting special privileges by their control of government and it also illustrates how effective for self-protection public opinion can make itself.

The by-election contests in which the polling is due to take place towards the end of November are now livening up. In East Elgin there is a three-cornered fight between John Stansell, the Government nominee, S. S. McDermand,

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U.F.O., and W. G. Charlton. Mr. Stansell is a well-to-do farmer and cattledealer, who has very little capacity for politics and platform oratory but is well liked by his neighbors and has a strong following in one end of the constituency. He is not an effective campaigner, but he is being accorded ample assistance from headquarters at Ottawa and a horde of spellbinders will be let loose upon the constituency between this time and election day. As at Colchester the full powers of the new Franchise Act will be brought into play. Unpleasant disclosures concerning this election are now coming to light and the farmers contend that they are in possession of enough evidence to unseat Mr. McCurdy. The new Act leaves very wide powers in the hands of the registrars who used them to the limit in Colchester. On the polling day scores of people whose names were not on the list and whose claim to vote would in many cases not bear investigation were allowed to record their votes and others whose right was notorious but who were known to be unfriendly to the Government were debarred from voting. Since 1914 shady election work has more or less been banished from Canada and Mr. Meighen can take what credit he likes from the fact that its revival coincides with his advent to the Premiership. In East Elgin the great effort of the Government campaigners is being devoted to playing upon the fears of the farmers and trying to picture the Government as the only bulwark against Bolshevism and revolution. If anything could be tempted to inflame a revolutionary temper in the people of Canada, it would be the attempted performance of the Government in connection with the sugar refiners' trials.

Mr. McDermand, the U.F.O., candidate, is not the most suitable nominee that his party could have chosen. He obtained the nomination as the result of an arrangement which was entered into to solve difficulties and quarrels arising over the nomination for the pro-

(Continued on next page)

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vincial house a year ago. He is not popular with many of his own party and has not the platform capacity to overcome this handicap. As a result a considerable number of farmers of Conservative antecedents are rallying to Mr. Stansell, who has also enjoyed membership in the U.F.O. Mr. McDermand will not be able to rely upon the solid U.F.O. vote which a more popular candidate and especially one of Tory antecedents could have secured. Such a man could easily have carried East Elgin against all comers. It happens that the U.F.O. chances are further endangered by the fact that the Liberals have put forward a particularly good candidate in Mr. W. G. Charlton. Even though he is not now a resident in the constituency he knows it from end to end, and has a wide and well deserved popularity. He contested it in 1917 against the late member, Mr. David Marshall, under most adverse circumstances, and came within a narrow margin of securing as many home votes as Mr. Marshall, who, of course, increased his small majority with the help of the overseas vote. But Mr. Charlton would have carried the riding easily had the Laurier party been allowed to vote their women folk. On the hands it is acknowledged that he is

the best candidate of the trio and the Government regard him as their most dangerous opponent. He is an excellent speaker, is clear-cut and most progressive in his views, and is well versed in all the arts of campaigning. The fact that he is infinitely more advanced in his opinions than the average follower of Mr. Mackenzie King will improve his chances of capturing the ex-Liberals in the U.F.O. ranks, and if Mr. McDermand were not in the field he would have an easy victory. As things are the Government candidate ought to win in a three-cornered contest, and if he fails the outlook for Mr. Meighen in Ontario at the next election will be dark. Mr. King is not exactly strengthening his position with his party by his attitude in connection with the by-elections. He urged the Liberals of St. John to put up a candidate and did not go down to support him. Now another Liberal candidate is in the field and Mr. King has not vouchsafed him a helping hand, but is careering through the West in a vain attempt to win the affections of a community of voters which is completely immune to his charms. Mr. Meighen, however, will find them equally immune to his pleadings and sophistries in the oratorical tour which he has now commenced. His whole endeavor will be to convince the audiences that he is the most efficient Premier available in Canada, that as a western member he is devoted to their interests and that even if he is a convinced protectionist, he has strong performing tendencies. He will, like Mr. King, have very large audiences, but the shade of Sir Wilfrid Laurier could tell him that this means nothing in Western Canada and is no guarantee of votes at the next election.

Guelph coal dealers prices which were investigated by the Board of Commerce are reported to be fair, except in two instances where the dealers have been ordered to make reductions. The board declares the profiteering is not by the local dealers, but by the supply firms in the United States.

Collingwood city has seized the plant of the Cramp Steel Company, following its sale to the Baldwin's Canadian Steel Corporation Ltd., and the latter company's removal of the plant to Toronto. Collingwood claims \$64,000 arrears of taxes, declaring the sale cancels a "gentleman's agreement" made with the Cramp Company not to collect arrears of taxes.

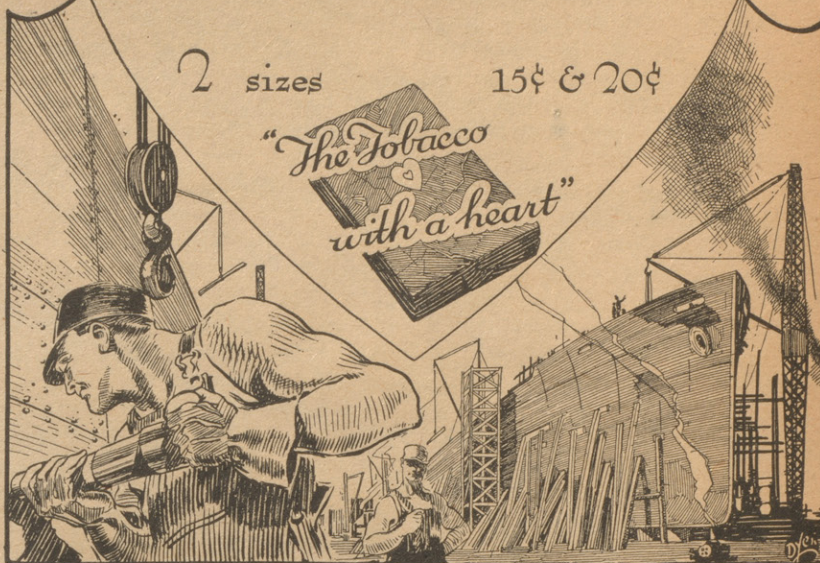
According to the Department of Labor the cost of living as shown by the family budget is declining, the figures for an average retail cost of 29 staple foods in the middle of September being \$15.95, compared with 16.42 for August, \$16.83 for July, \$16.92 for June, \$14.33 for September 1919, \$13.31 for September 1918, and \$7.83 for September 1914.

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(Continued from page 9)

and handed in by a certain hour whether one belonged to a union or not.

Questions were asked of the few members who already belonged to unions but these questions were not always satisfactorily answered. For example: if unions were formed was free-lance work debarred? Oddly enough no member of a union present could answer this positively. Some members pointed out that this, if true, was a serious objection to the Union as many writers who had achieved fame and fortune and could not be expected to accept regular work on a paper, were yet willing to write occasionally on subjects that interested them or on which their opinion was authoritative. If these free lance writers were debarred from contributing the paper would lose in interest and the public be deprived of something which it might reasonably expect to get. Much interest was shown in this particular point but no conclusion was reached owing to the fact that exact information was not available. On one point however all members of unions agreed: increase of wages, slight in some cases, considerable in others, had followed the formation of unions.

The real objection to the union idea in the minds of most of the presswomen was without doubt "the closed shop," and the fact that we must submit to dictation from the United States. If we belonged to the American Federation of Labor, we must be prepared to "down tools" if the A. F. of L. issued the command. Would we wish to do this? The answer was an emphatic "No."

Yet, distasteful though this procedure might be, was it distasteful enough to render the union idea unacceptable? Again — and hesitatingly—no.

Finally the Press Club agreed unanimously to appoint a Committee of Investigation which should make full inquiries, present a full report, and present it in such a manner that it could be printed and disseminated among the Press Club members. Eight women from various parts of Canada were selected to prepare this report, three of these being from Montreal.

The advantages and disadvantages as presented by Mrs. Bowker and the other speakers tabulated somewhat as follows:—

On the credit side, higher wages, more regular hours, better standing, greater security. On the debit side, less freedom of opportunity, less reward for real efficiency, possibility of having to receive orders from another nation.

The last of these objections really weighed very heavily with most of us. And the first of the benefits on the credit side of unionism was without doubt the most telling.

If some scheme could be devised whereby the benefits of unionism could be combined with "equal pay for equal output," and the assurance of no dictation from an American Federation, there could be no doubt

### HELP TO MCGILL IS HELP TO THE NATION.

"Education", said Sir Arthur Currie, in a recent address, "is the one thing for which no people ever paid too much." No one can accuse the McGill student of paying too much for his education. According to Dr. Nicholson, the Registrar of McGill, the total fees paid by a graduate in Arts of the year 1919-20 were only \$240.00, whereas the amount expended on that graduate by the University itself was \$2,725. In order to meet pressing deficits, the fees this year have to be raised, but even so the cost of education in accordance with present day standards makes it necessary for McGill to come forward with an urgent appeal for new endowments. It is right that the fees should be comparatively low. A University education should be within reach of the humblest and not merely the privilege of the few. Our prosperity as a nation depends on the facilities offered to our men and women of brains, and experience proves that the training of a practical University such as McGill is a real help towards leadership. Those who have succeeded in business in Montreal have here a magnificent chance to show their public spirit. A gift to McGill is a gift to Canada.

A striking statement on the "Cost of Education" has been written by Dr. Nicholson, and published as a pamphlet for the McGill Centennial Endowment. This is being mailed to all known friends of McGill. Any reader of the Railroader who wishes a copy should write to the Booklet Editor, McGill Centennial Endowment Campaign, St. Lawrence Hall, Montreal.

that practically all press women would enthusiastically accept the union idea. Our committee has already begun to examine the benefits and demerits of the proposition thoroughly, and in a more detailed and precise fashion than was possible at a first discussion. We feel that we shall soon be in a position to speak authoritatively on this most important and pressing of the questions of the day.

\* \* \* \*

(There were evidently several serious misunderstandings at the meeting described in the foregoing article. The attitudes and doing of union printers were a bit twisted, and the committee of investigation should make enquiries from union officers. There was a misunderstanding, too, about the functions of the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L. has never ordered a sympathetic strike, and has no authority to do so. It is mainly made up of international unions which are very jealous of their autonomy. In any case, no union is ever ordered to "down tools" unless on the vote of the members most intimately concerned: often a three-fourths major-

ity of the membership is needed to favor a strike before one can be ordered, and some union require a four-fifths majority.

Unions of journalists have frequently objected to non-professional persons doing journalistic work under conditions of pay and work liable to injure professional journalists as a class. There is, however, no hard and fast line drawn about the whole business of "free lance-ing." Unions make their own laws, anyway. There is no outside authority to say what they shall do and what they shall not do.—Kennedy Crone).

Wage negotiations between the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and the Canadian National Railways have been completed, with the result that 7,000 employees from Port Arthur to the Pacific secured increases amounting to approximately \$200,000 a month. Increases are retroactive to May 1, so that back pay will total nearly \$1,200,000. It will be paid not later than November 15. The average increase is about \$28 a month.

### A SOLILOQUY.

I AM Everyman's Child.

I did not ask to come, but I am here.

I arrived on this earth like every other child.

I have been sent from pillar to post.

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If I have the right to be born, I have other rights:

I have the right to play.

I have the right to have clothes like other children.

I have the right to the loving care of people who are interested in me, but I am the ward of the state—Society.

I am put in a house of a thousand children, but not the home of one.

I am the child of the Institution.

When I am sixteen, Society will have finished with me.

It will send me forth to brave the battle.

I start handicapped with the sign of the asylum.

Shall all who are born like me suffer the sorrows of No Man's Child?

SOPHIE IRENE LOEB.

—From Everyman's Child, published by The Century Co.

Country Judge—Ten dollars.

Motorist—Can you change a twenty-dollar bill?

Judge—No, but I can change the fine. Twenty dollars.

Working girls of Manitoba are planning to appear before the Manitoba Minimum Wage Board to apply for higher wages in order to meet the increased cost of living, no advances having been given since the latter half of 1918 and 1919. A conference of officials of the Minimum Wage Boards of the four Western Provinces will be held shortly in Winnipeg with the object of establishing uniformity of hours, wages and working conditions for girls.

### BANK OF MONTREAL GIVES SHAREHOLDERS BONUS OF 2 PER CENT IN ADDITION TO USUAL QUARTERLY DIVIDEND.

Following the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Montreal, last week, it was announced that the usual quarterly dividend of 3 per cent had been declared, together with a bonus of 2 per cent for this year only.

The Bank desires it to be understood that there has been no increase in its interest rates to borrowers in Canada and that the additional distribution to shareholders is the result of a successful year's business and the enhanced value of money outside of Canada, where the Bank's reserves are to an extent carried.

This bonus to the shareholders is a further evidence of the Bank's progress during the year and an indication that Canada is steadily advancing through the reconstruction period to sound normal conditions.

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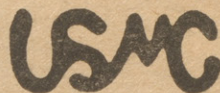
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## "Liberty" In The United States

By ALLEYNE IRELAND in the North American Review

(Continued from last issue)

In the United States, as in England, the highest administrative officials of the National Government are members of the Cabinet; but no two bodies could be less alike, measured by their responsibility to the people, than those which assemble, respectively, at the White House and at No. 10 Downing Street. The members of the English Cabinet are selected by the leaders of the political party which, for the time being, holds office. Each of them must sit either in the Upper or in the Lower House of Parliament. Thus all the great officers of State are compelled to face their political opponents day by day when Parliament is in session, must be constantly prepared to explain and defend the policy of the government, and must answer questions in regard to matters with which their respective departments are concerned. For example, if the Postmaster General should allow his department to deteriorate to a point where it no longer rendered efficient service to the public, any member of the House in which the Postmaster General has his seat, can, in the form of a question, confront that official with specific instances of incompetence, can demand an explanation, and can threaten to make the matter a parliamentary issue unless conditions are speedily improved.

What applies to the Post Office, applies equally to every department of the public service, so that the representatives of the English people are at all times in a position where they can call to account the head of any department of the executive government and this check is exercised in such a way that the complaint and the official explanation are spread upon the record of Parliament, and are, within a few hours, offered to the eye of every Englishman who reads a newspaper.

Nor is it possible for an official thus held to his responsibility to treat the matter lightly, to say that there is nothing in the complaint but political venom, or to decline the challenge of the enquiry or by lip-service to efficiency. If he should follow any of these courses he imperils not only his own tenure of a lucrative post, not only the tenure of similar posts by his political associates, but also the tenure of office by his party. And this peril is not one which lies in the chances of a distant election, it is one with which he and his party can be confronted at any moment.

Under the English system, which allows a national election to be held at any time when the party in power fails to secure a majority on any important motion in the House of Commons, a very narrow limit is set to the defiance which

the heads of the government departments can offer to well-founded criticism of the conduct of public business.

Everyone who is familiar with the conduct of great enterprises, whatever may be their special character, knows that the only form of control in any real sense effective is that which rests upon the ability to fix responsibility squarely on a particular individual, and upon the power to make that individual himself pay the price of his shortcomings.

This form of control the Englishman holds over every man who fills a political office in the national government. Does the American hold any such control over the high officials of the Federal Government?

As in England, so in the United States, the Cabinet is composed of the heads of the great administrative departments and are political appointees in the sense that they are chosen by the President from adherents of his party. But here the similarity between the two bodies ceases. The President's Cabinet is not responsible to the country for a programme of legislation; it is not responsible to Congress for the efficient discharge of departmental business. Short of the commission of gross acts of malfeasance, for which removal from office might be attempted by the difficult and uncertain process of impeachment, a member of the President's Cabinet has nothing to fear from public indignation or from any act which lies within the power of the people's representatives in Congress; and he can retain his place in the Cabinet and his control of his department for four years (or for eight, as the case may be) upon the single condition that he remains "persona grata" at the White House.

I may recall to the reader's attention another peculiarity of the American political system which seriously restricts the political freedom of the American people. In England, and in all other countries having what is accurately and succinctly described as "responsible" government, the party in power is always in the position to carry out its programme of legislation, so long as it commands a majority of legislative votes; and when it no longer commands this majority it relinquishes the reins of government into the hands of those who can muster the following necessary to carry out a legislative programme. In the United States, however, as everybody knows, the power of legislation may be in the hands of a Republican Congress, and the veto power in the hands of a Democratic President, or vice-versa; and one party may have a majority in the Senate and the other party in the House of Representatives.

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\*Thus, to go no further in these comparisons, we frequently observe the position to arise when the Senate can shift its responsibilities to the shoulders of a hostile majority in the House of Representatives, when the House can shift its responsibilities to a hostile majority in the Senate, and when Congress, if the Senate and the House are in agreement, can find an alibi to any charge by pointing to the veto of a President who belongs to the opposite party from that which controls the Congressional majorities.

It is clear that in a system of this kind it is extremely difficult for the people to fix responsibility and to secure a remedy either for a political or for an administrative situation which has become intolerable to them. The people have, in fact, no quick asset of political power and their lack of this power is at the root of their political impotence.

The foregoing discussion has, I venture to think, shown that there is little justification for the common boast that in the United States Liberty flourishes with an exuberance elsewhere unknown. It is not to be supposed that the intelligent and informed people

of the country labor under any such mistaken idea; but the illusion is widespread, and it is only one of many misconceptions as to the real character of American life which have been fostered by the misguided enthusiasm of the sentimentalists and by the shrewd policy of the politicians.

There are times, no doubt, in which a people are not seriously injured by looking at their institutions of government through a pink, moist haze of optimism; but he is indeed blind who cannot see that the present is not one of those times.

Evidence accumulates on every side of an approaching crisis not only in the political and social life of the United States, but in that of the world at large. If this crisis is not met with the most courageous frankness the consequences will be disastrous beyond any computation.

The nation has to come down out of the clouds, to adjust its dogmas to the actual conditions of life on this planet, and to accept in regard to the operation of democratic methods of government the clear verdict of common sense instead of the windy assurances of orators.

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